

Report by Omali Yeshitela to the National People's Democratic Uhuru Movement Founding Convention, April 6, 1991

We have arrived here in Chicago at this historic Founding Convention of the National People's Democratic Uhuru Movement on April 6, 1991. Both the date of our convention and its site here in Chicago have tremendous symbolic significance for our task over the two days we will be convening.

It was on April 6, 1968, 23 years ago that 17-year-old Black Panther Party member Bobby Hutton was assassinated by a mob of policemen in Oakland, California. Twenty months later, on December 4, 1969, 21-year-old Fred Hampton was executed in his bed by Chicago's colonialist police force here in this city. Also murdered in the 4 a.m. raid on the Panther house was Mark Clark.

We mention the murders of Bobby Hutton, Mark Clark and Fred Hampton because they are three of the victims whose brutal assassinations helped to give the counterinsurgency its notorious character. It was this same counterinsurgency — that defeated the Black Revolution of the Sixties and initiated the current anti-democratic process against our African people — that this meeting was called to overturn.

Our choice of this date and this place for our convention were conscious choices, choices which recognize the significance of symbolism. They are choices which attempt to make the connection between the defeat of the Black Revolution of the Sixties — a defeat which resulted in the death of these three comrade brothers — and the rebirth of that movement explicit in our presence today. This connection is implicit in Fred Hampton's famous dictum: "You can murder a liberator, but you can't murder liberation."

Bobby Hutton, Mark Clark and Fred Hampton were members of the Black Panther Party which, at the time of their assassinations by the U.S. white power colonialist state, was a revolutionary party. Indeed, it was the closest thing to a revolutionary center that had existed within the U.S. since the Garvey Movement during the first quarter of this century.

However, the assassinations of Mark Clark, Fred Hampton and Bobby Hutton and the destruction of the Black Panther Party as a revolutionary organization were the culmination of a larger, more comprehensive counterinsurgency aimed at defeating the Black Revolution of the Sixties by disrupting and destroying the independent organizations of our domestically-colonized people and killing off and otherwise "neutralizing" inde-

pendent and revolutionary African leaders and personalities.

Although the U.S. colonialist counterinsurgency affected virtually every African organization and personality of significance within the U.S., its main target was the anti-colonial sector of our movement. This sector was characterized as "militant Black nationalist hate groups," by the Federal Bureau of Investigation in its infamous August 25, 1967 directive that officially established the long-range goals of the operation.

This government targeting of the anti-colonial sector of our movement for counterinsurgency operations resulted in more than the defeat of militant black nationalists. It also meant the defeat of a particular set of politics in the African community to the advantage of another set of politics which had actually lost out in the ideological contest within our community. The defeat of the anti-colonial sector of our movement, the defeat of the Black Revolution of the Sixties was a victory for white bourgeois liberalism and the liberal sector of the African petty bourgeoisie, whose interests were restricted to democratic rights under colonial white power.

The U.S. federal government made its animosity toward the anti-colonial movement clear in its internal documents. Prior to its decision to assassinate Dr. Martin Luther King, the Federal Bureau of Investigation put forth as a criterion for this assassination that he abandon liberalism.

The long range goals of the FBI's counterinsurgency activity against our movement included as its second point the directive to "prevent the rise of a 'messiah' who could unify and electrify the militant black nationalist movement." About King the document read: "King could be a very real contender for this position should he abandon his supposed 'obedience' to 'white liberal doctrines' and embrace black nationalism."

The Civil Rights Movement was supported by the liberal sector of the colonial white ruling class. But the entire white ruling class and its instruments of state power like the FBI were always clear in their total opposition to our struggle for self-determination — our struggle for absolute control over our own lives by our own colonized people, to the exclusion of any other power.

While the struggle for democratic rights under the leadership of the liberal African petty bourgeoisie did

mobilize millions of African people, especially the impoverished working masses, it was nevertheless a struggle that was primarily in the interests of the allied liberal African petty bourgeoisie or middle class and the liberal sector of the white ruling class.

The liberal sector of the white ruling class entered into this alliance with the liberal African petty bourgeoisie in order to overturn the prevailing relations of production which prevented the African workers from leaving the labor-intensive capitalist production of the South to work in the capital-intensive, factory-based production in the North and other areas of the U.S. An outcome of the second imperialist war was the opening of the colonial markets to the U.S. The liberal bourgeoisie needed full access to African workers from the South because of the consequent expanded productive capacity of U.S. industry.

On the other hand, the liberal African petty bourgeoisie saw the struggle for democracy and its alliance with the liberal white ruling class as the means by which it could achieve its economic aims by conquest of political power through the electoral process, particularly in the South where in many instances Africans outnumbered North Americans or white people.

While the liberal African petty bourgeoisie was interested in integrating into the white power system, by 1966, after major rebellions in several cities and passage of a Civil Rights Bill and Voting Rights Act—the formal achievement of democratic rights within the context of the limited revolution of the African petty bourgeoisie—it was clear that the masses of impoverished African people could not be satisfied with a formal declaration of democracy.

In 1966 the demand for Black Power, the formation of the Black Panther Party and smaller, lesser-known anti-colonialist organizations throughout the U.S. revealed the deep split within the domestically colonized African population between the liberal African petty bourgeoisie, represented in such organizations as the NAACP, National Urban League and the Southern Christian Leadership Conference and the great majority of African workers and patriotic black nationalists.

In fact, the U.S. counterinsurgency against the Black Revolution of the Sixties was greatly facilitated by the public ideological and political support given the colonialist state by the liberal African petty bourgeois leaders in the war against the Black Revolution of the Sixties. These leaders publicly denounced revolution and Black Power. Some even entered into secret agreements with the U.S. secret political police to help defeat the Black Revolution of the Sixties.

In the Political Report to the African People's Socialist

Party Third Congress, held in Florida last September, the U.S. counterinsurgency was summed up thusly:

"The U.S. counterinsurgency against the U.S.-based African Revolution was extensive. Several U.S. presidents and lesser political figures, from governors, senators and local mayors, were involved as well as various agencies and levels of the U.S. government including federal and state legislatures. This also included the draft board, Internal Revenue Service, judges, grand juries, local military police organizations and all branches of the U.S. military, the Central Intelligence Agency as well as the National Security Agency.

"University, college and high school campus officials, prison wardens and jail officials as well as nearly all the white media and much of the African primitive petty bourgeoisie-owned media became a part of the counterinsurgency against our movement, along with the general population of generally hostile North Americans, or white people. This last group included religious representatives of almost every belief and denomination.

"The counterinsurgency also included participation by the white left and the new sector of black puppet neo-colonial politicians rising up off the defeat of the Black Revolution.

"The counterinsurgency was brutal and terroristic, sometimes with the help of special designer laws, such as the Rap Brown Law which prohibited 'crossing state borders in order to incite to riot.' On a local level laws prohibiting 'verbal abuse' to police were created in St. Petersburg, Florida. On a state level, laws were passed such as in Florida which prohibited inciting to riot, with criteria for arrest being the 'intent' of the 'inciter' whether a riot occurred or not.

"Federal 'no-knock' laws were created which abrogated U.S. constitutional prohibition of illegal entry by police and allowed an escalation of pre-dawn police raids, some of which resulted in blatant police murder such as that of Black Panther leader Fred Hampton on December 4, 1969 in Chicago.

"Bobby Hutton, Samuel Napier, John Huggins, Bunchy Carter, Mark Clark, George and Jonathan Jackson and Fred Hampton are but a few of the members of the Black Panther Party who were martyred by the U.S. colonial counterinsurgency. Martin Luther King of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, Carl Hampton of People's Party Number II in Houston, Texas, and Lawrence Mann, co-founder of the African People's Socialist Party in Florida are only three more of the countless numbers of Africans murdered by the counterinsurgency in the U.S. attempt to achieve class peace within U.S. borders.

"Countless others were simply kidnapped from our

colonially oppressed communities under the guise of law by a colonial power whose laws are designed to maintain U.S. capitalist-colonialism. Community meetings were often raided by gun-wielding colonial police, terrorizing meeting attendants. Independent community programs were destroyed, offices and materials were burned to the ground. Revolutionary newspapers were hijacked, sometimes destroyed or soiled or otherwise made unusable.

“And then, on the back of this extensive, military attack on our movement, the U.S. government created phoney revolutionary organizations, mostly white, to challenge the ideological legitimacy, political orientation and organizational stability of the badly battered Black Revolution that had once moved J. Edgar Hoover to define it as the most serious threat to the internal security of the U.S. since the Civil War.”

In 1971, U.S. President Richard Milhaus Nixon chose William C. Sullivan to initiate a so-called “war on heroin” against the so-called drug cartel in Southeast Asia where the U.S. just happened to be engaged in a vicious, genocidal counterinsurgent war against the people of Viet Nam. Sullivan had been the architect of the FBI’s counterinsurgent efforts against the Black Revolution of the Sixties. Known as the counterintelligence program or COINTELPRO, the long term goals of Sullivan’s generally successful plan were:

1. Prevent the coalition of militant black nationalist groups;
2. Prevent the rise of a ‘messiah’ who could unify, and electrify, the militant black nationalist movement...;
3. Prevent violence on the part of black nationalist groups;
4. Prevent militant black nationalist groups and leaders from gaining respectability, by discrediting them...; and
5. Prevent the long-range growth of militant black nationalist organizations, especially among the youth.

Along with forces like G. Gordon Liddy and E. Howard Hunt in association with figures like Richard Secord, recently made notorious by the gun-running, drug-smuggling Iran-Contra scandal, Sullivan participated in founding the Office of Drug Abuse Law Enforcement (ODALE), which is known today as the Drug Enforcement Agency (DEA).

It was Sullivan along with these and other agents of various official and unofficial intelligence agencies, who initiated the heroin epidemic within our oppressed colonized communities as the final blow to defeat the Black Revolution of the Sixties: through drug addiction, demoralization and temporary destruction of the will to resist U.S. domestic colonialism.

By 1979 the Iranian and Nicaraguan revolutions had

refocused U.S. counterinsurgent activities on the Middle East and Latin America. The intra-ruling class policy disputes concerning these revolutions resulted in the so-called Iran-Contra scandal which revealed to public view the intensive U.S. involvement in the cocaine trade from Latin America.

However, for the domestically colonized African community, it was not the revelations from the highly controlled congressional hearings that convinced us that the U.S. government is the world’s biggest drug pusher. It was what was happening in our impoverished communities that convinced us.

Suddenly, cocaine, which had previously been considered an upper-class drug of the North American population, was flooding the African community in a cheaper, deadlier derivative now known as crack.

The counterinsurgency, which had begun in the Sixties with the explicit aim of destroying our independent anti-colonial organizations and leaders, had now been turned against the whole people just as in the days of Jim Crow, prior to the success of the Civil Rights movement. The drugs which were used to destabilize the African community, making it harder to organize for revolution, were and are also used as political justification for brutal repression and militarization of the African community.

The limited revolution of the liberals had got out of hand when the colonized African masses had found their own organizations, their own programs and their own independent interests. The U.S. government moved viciously against this struggle for happiness and return of our stolen resources. And when the anti-colonial struggle had become the most representative and most dynamic voice of our people, the U.S. government, with the support of the liberal African petty bourgeoisie, initiated a war, without terms, of assassinations, imprisonments, slander and chemical warfare including drugs, to put it down.

In 1969 then-U.S. Attorney General John Mitchell went so far as to publicly state that the Black Panther Party would be destroyed by the end of that year. The murder of Fred Hampton on December 4, 1969 must have been viewed by Mitchell and his cohorts as the final blow in bringing his prediction to fruition.

The military component of the counterinsurgency was combined with U.S. slander against our movement and our entire people as well as the imposition of drugs and a drug economy onto our economically-dependent colonized community. The liberal sector of the white ruling class, along with its puppet shadow, the liberal African primitive petty bourgeoisie, had salvaged their limited revolution for bourgeois or ruling class democ-

racy under white power by defeating the real democratic Black Revolution of the Sixties.

The liberal sector of the white ruling class had funded the Civil Rights Movement. They needed the limited revolution for their own economic interests following the second imperialist war. The defeat of the Black Revolution of the Sixties was a victory for the liberal white ruling class and its junior partner, the liberal African primitive petty bourgeoisie, whose limited revolution for democracy, prestige and material wealth for itself was to be at the expense of democracy, prestige and material wealth for the broad masses of our wretched and brutalized people.

In the final analysis it has been this relationship between the white ruling class and the African petty bourgeoisie that has proved the most devastating component of the U.S. counterinsurgency. For it is the African petty bourgeoisie that functions as the social base for the U.S. neo-colonial strategy, currently the linchpin of the U.S. counterinsurgency. The U.S. neo-colonial strategy is simply a strategy of formal transfer of political power to the African petty bourgeoisie, generally through the electoral process, while economic control and hence de facto power remains in the hands of the white ruling class.

The U.S. neo-colonial strategy has provided an excellent cover for U.S. domestic colonialism and up till now, along with historical white opportunism, has contributed magnificently to the maintenance of class peace within the U.S. and the isolation of the suffering African working class within the U.S. and internationally.

There are now an estimated 7 to 10 thousand African elected officials within the U.S. Added to this number are the thousands of Africans who serve in their administration, plus the other thousands who serve within the federal government and other administrations of white politicians who require black faces for political cover. On top of this there are the Africans with high profiles within various organizations of the colonial state such as chiefs and officers of police departments, prison wardens, public housing authority directors, etc.

In Baltimore, Maryland; Oakland, California; St. Petersburg, Florida; and Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, these neo-colonialist forces have actually led aggressive police attacks on our anti-colonial movement even as it progresses toward rebuilding itself. Here, in Chicago former Black Panther Party leader, Alderman Bobby Rush, has actually publicly advocated federal police deployment against Africans in the public housing projects. In Atlanta, Georgia and Washington, D.C., neo-colonial African administrations have initiated curfew laws under which young Africans are subject to arrest if

found out in public after certain hours. In Philadelphia an African mayor presided over and defended the bombing of a house occupied by African militants that resulted in the incineration of African men, women and children and an entire African neighborhood.

While these neo-colonialist elected officials and administrators are often warmly and paternalistically referred to by white ruling class media sources as representatives of black power, nothing could be further from the truth. They are the opposite of Black Power. The defeat of the Black Power revolution was a condition for their success. They do not represent Black Power. Rather they represent a revolution hijacked.

Neo-colonialism allows the liberal white ruling class and white capitalist colonialist society in general to obscure the real conditions of existence for the broad masses of African people. It holds up these special neo-colonial individuals as either evidence of the conditions of existence for all African people or as evidence of what the rest of us supposedly could be if we applied ourselves like the neo-colonialists and took advantage of what America has to offer.

Moreover, the fact that only one of the elected officials within the U.S. has criticized the colonial government for its treatment of Africans and called for some kind of conditional resistance from the African masses gives substance to the slanderous lie that the wretched condition of existence for our people is self-inflicted. Or, as the African petty bourgeois intellectuals have put it, we are suffering because of a pathology which has created a permanent "underclass" so out of step with civilized behavior that the growing emiseration of our people is but a logical outcome.

However, we have not come to Chicago on this historic occasion for a recitation of the victories of the white ruling class counterinsurgency. We are here — in Chicago on April 6 — as a statement of the failure of the counterinsurgency. Indeed, Fred Hampton the murdered liberator was correct: "you can murder a liberator, but you can't murder liberation."

Some of you who are present today may very well see your presence as accidental. Perhaps you accidentally came upon a copy of The Burning Spear newspaper, or a brochure announcing the founding of the National People's Democratic Uhuru Movement today. Perhaps you saw Akua Njeri (Fred Hampton's widow and herself a survivor of the December 4, 1969 pre-dawn massacre) on television and heard her announce today's convention. Perhaps you heard a solidarity worker on the radio or bumped into an Uhuru organizer on your campus or in your community.

Whatever the case, we want to say right now that your

presence here is no accident. It is a consequence of hard work that is consistent with a major strategic aim to complete the Black Revolution of the Sixties.

The fifth point of the FBI's 1967 COINTELPRO counterinsurgent program reads thusly:

"A final goal should be to prevent the long-range growth of militant black nationalist organizations, especially among youth." It is here that the ultimate failure of the U.S. counterinsurgency will be determined. For even as the white ruling class and liberals of all nationalities were celebrating the defeat of the Black Revolution of the Sixties, our Party was being born in St. Petersburg, Florida in 1972 out of the best materials provided us by the Black Revolution of the Sixties.

At the Third Congress of our Party, held in September of last year, the significance of the Party's survival and existence was summed up in this way:

"Our fighting survival has also meant something else very important for our movement and our Party, and that is revolutionary continuity from one period to another. Historically, the white ruling class has been so vicious in its response to the existence of revolutionary anti-colonial African organizations that the organizations and hence our movement have not been able to accumulate organizational, political and ideological maturity, making it unable to resolve pressing political and ideological contradictions within the movement.

"The development of a revolutionary cadre takes years, and the Revolution requires a stable organization of revolutionary leaders, neither of which can occur when our revolutionary organizations have only been allowed life spans of two or three years due to intense political repression.

"Our Party is comprised of a membership and a history which spanned from the era of civil rights struggle through revolution through the rise of the counterinsurgency and military defeat.

"The membership of our Party has included elements from the militarily destroyed Texas-based People's Party II, the Black Panther Party, Kansas based cultural workers, former Student (later changed to Youth) Organization for Black Unity members, ex-National Black United Front members from New York, members of the Communist Party U.S.A. and Communist Workers Party as well as forces from the All-African People's Revolutionary Party.

"These and other elements have contributed to the form and character of our Party. But all of these contributions were forged onto an organization whose basic content was consolidated during the resistance to and fighting survival of the brutal U.S. colonial counterinsurgency.

"Nor was survival itself enough. What was required to give our Party the organizational, political and ideological character that we have was our resistance. While engaged in struggle with our colonial oppressors we always maintained strong connections with our people."

For the 19 years since its founding in 1972 our Party has been struggling to rebuild and complete the Black Revolution of the Sixties. For 19 years we have worked to build and consolidate the African People's Socialist Party as the advanced detachment of the most slandered, feared and despised African working class that continues even today to experience the brunt of the continuously evolving U.S. counterinsurgency.

Your presence here today is no accident. It is the consequence of 19 years of struggle by our Party to solve the problems of the revolution left to us by the counterinsurgency. For 19 years the African People's Socialist Party has struggled to bring the mass of African people back into political life. We have struggled to mobilize the people in defense of their own interests around questions of colonialist police violence, colonialist education systems and administrators, poor housing or the absence of housing altogether, colonial judicial terror and an anti-black colonialist prison system.

We are the only organization to ever organize a mass organization, the African National Reparations Organization (ANRO), to fight for reparations to our people for slavery, colonialism and related crimes by the U.S. government and North American citizenry of the U.S. North American colonialist state. It was also the African People's Socialist Party that organized the African National Prison Organization to fight against the colonial terror that the U.S. prison system represent for our people.

In the name of the oppressed domestically colonized African masses our party has attempted to initiate relations with the anti-imperialist fighting forces of the world — from Iran to Palestine and throughout the Americas, especially with the Puerto Ricans and heroic Nicaraguan people. In Asia we have embraced the valiant Vietnamese and Filipino revolutionaries, and our solidarity with the Irish in their struggle against British imperialism has always been firm.

Within the U.S. our Party attempts to lead the African masses into an ever deepening embrace with the struggles of the Native people, the Indio-Mexicano people and the Mexican National Liberation Movement.

Moreover, the African People's Socialist Party has initiated the founding of the African Socialist International, a single, worldwide revolutionary Party of African people dispersed throughout the world and in Africa, whose present wretched conditions of existence are a

direct and immediate consequence of the rise of white power as parasitic capitalism. This African Socialist International could very well be the first step in the creation of a new communist international, having at its base the true majority of the world's people, the toilers of the colonial, neo-colonial and so-called economically dependent peoples of the world.

In 1976 the African People's Socialist Party founded the African People's Solidarity Committee, and forever laid to rest the "white people's question" that has plagued our struggle since the U.S. defeat of the Garvey Movement first gave an artificial authority to African petty bourgeois liberalism within our movement in the U.S.

The African People's Solidarity Committee is an organization of white people that works directly under the leadership of our Party. Its subordinate relationship to our Party is a reflection of the economic structure of world capitalism in general and U.S. capitalism in particular — a capitalism that is parasitic and resting upon a pedestal of slavery and colonialism which must be overthrown in order for world progress and socialism to prevail.

All these struggles and campaigns over the 19 year history of our Party have been struggles and campaigns to solve the pressing problems of our revolution. Now, today, we are here to solve the most fundamental problem, the problem that must be effectively addressed before there can be any significant movement forward by our revolution. That problem is the counterinsurgency itself.

It has taken 19 years since the founding our Party, 19 consistent, non-wavering years, but finally we are here and our presence here today is not an accident, but the consequence of our Party having assumed custody of the task to uplift the children of Africa from this North American hell of colonial wretchedness. Our presence here today is testimony that the crucial step in the defeat of the U.S. counterinsurgency — the consolidation of the Uhuru Movement led by our Party as a U.S.-wide movement — has begun with the founding of the National People's Democratic Uhuru Movement.

Nor are these empty boastful statements. The reality of my words is to be seen in the essentially working class composition of the African participants in this meeting and in the fact that everyone who is here is here essentially through the independent efforts of these African workers and their Revolutionary Party.

All the comrades who are here — from California and Florida, from Indiana, Kansas, Maryland, Oklahoma and other places — are here through their own efforts to facilitate our own agenda without the contamination of white liberal unionism, any front of the Democratic party

or white nationalist leftists or connections with the liberal African petty bourgeoisie. We are here through our own efforts and that is a turning point in our movement, an indication that the counterinsurgency is being overcome and that the masses of African working people are reentering political life on our own terms.

Today we begin the formal process of actually building the National People's Democratic Uhuru Movement organization under the leadership of our Party. Although the National People's Democratic Uhuru Movement is a mass organization it is also a revolutionary organization. This is true despite the fact that there may be thousands of people who will join the National People's Democratic Uhuru Movement who are not revolutionaries.

The revolutionary character of NPDUM will be determined by the fact that it is led by our Revolutionary Party and that every action and campaign it initiates or participates in, in fact even its very existence, meets the strategic needs of our Revolution.

The National People's Democratic Uhuru Movement is open to membership from any and all nationalities who are able to unite with the NPDUM constitution and meet other criteria for membership. However, our open membership does not mean that we have adopted the liberal ideology of integrationism.

We reject the suggestion that our people suffer brutality and deprivation because we are not integrated with white people. Such a suggestion is a slanderous insult to the national dignity of our people. Nor do we believe that our conditions of existence are due to racism, the reactionary white nationalist notions in the heads of white people that function as the ideological foundation of parasitic world capitalism.

The open membership of NPDUM is based on principle. It is a membership which must be united in recognition of the objective reality that the current oppression of African people in the U.S. and the world springs directly from our connection with white people and parasitic capitalist white power. Our membership must be won to understand that the struggle of our people is not against the "racist" ideas in the heads of white people but for Black Power over our own black lives: in short, for self-determination, for the right to combine with Africa and Africans worldwide in possession of our own self-governed democratic rights.

The fact that NPDUM is under the leadership of our revolutionary Party is a mark of political maturity for the oppressed domestically colonized African workers of the U.S. For one thing this means that our movement will never be trapped, like the Civil Rights Movement of the fifties and sixties, in limiting our struggle for democracy or democratic rights to those things approved of by the

white ruling class and African petty bourgeoisie, or to acceptance by this system founded on our enslavement and brutalization.

The leadership of NPDUM by our Party also removes us from the practice of pretending that mass organizations within our oppressed community are not informed by ideology, that they are empty of class or ideological content. We are clear: while the National People's Democratic Uhuru Movement will fight to defend the national democratic rights of all African people, it is under the leadership of the African working class in the form of its advanced detachment, the African People's Socialist Party.

Ideologically we are African Internationalists. We recognize ourselves to be a part of one African people, whose conditions of existence worldwide are due to our enslavement, the rape of Africa and the pillage of the entire world by Europe, a process which established the conditions for and existence of a parasitic capitalist world order that achieves wealth and democracy for Europe, North America and Japan at the expense of the wealth and democracy for Africans and the world's peoples.

It is this ideological clarity within the Uhuru Movement that allows us to understand the meaning of U.S. aggression against the world's peoples internationally — in Viet Nam, Nicaragua, Panama, Grenada, Cuba, and even more recently against Iraq and the masses of Arab people. For in truth, despite its jingoist, white nationalist ravings of supremacy, the U.S. white ruling class and parasitic capitalist system, like white power in general, is absolutely dependent on our human and material resources for its very existence. Hence U.S. white power must deny real democracy to the world's peoples as a condition for maintaining U.S. ruling class democracy. To defeat U.S. parasitic white capitalism we must struggle for real democracy.

However, the leadership of the National People's Democratic Uhuru Movement by the African People's Socialist Party will not allow us to forget that even democracy is determined by the question of class. While the ancient Greeks are held up by white liberal historians as the precursors of Euro-American democracy, the reality is that only 20 percent of the ancient Greeks were free. Eighty percent of the Greeks were enslaved. The democracy of the ancient Greeks was a democracy.

The so-called democracy of the U.S. originated during the period of legal enslavement of captured and kidnapped Africans and even as the Native people were being actively and viciously wiped out. The Civil Rights Movement of the fifties and sixties, although waged in the name of all the African people, only provided de-

mocracy for the African primitive petty bourgeoisie who now run for president, lead genocidal U.S. colonial armies, act as nominal heads of local governments, drive Mercedes Benzes, etc. — at the expense of the majority of our people who now catch more hell from the U.S. government than we did 20 years ago.

The National People's Democratic Uhuru Movement, like components of the liberal African petty bourgeois-led Civil Rights Movement of the Sixties, will be a direct action movement that will engage in acts of civil disobedience and other tactics employed by democratic mass movements worldwide. However, even as we struggle to defend the national democratic rights won by our people in the past, rights which are constantly being abrogated by the U.S. government in the name of fighting a war against drugs, the National People's Democratic Uhuru Movement will struggle to extend the question of democracy beyond the definition of the liberal African petty bourgeoisie.

The highest expression of democracy is self-determination. A major aspect of NPDUM mass work should revolve around our efforts to initiate an internationally supervised plebiscite, which, as stated in Point Number 10 of the 10-Point program of the Black Panther Party, will be "held throughout the black colony in which only black colonial subjects will be allowed to participate for the purpose of determining the will of black people as to their national destiny."

NPDUM should also act to challenge the 1954 Brown vs. The Board of Education Supreme Court decision that allegedly desegregated the U.S. colonial school system, but which instead codified the permanent domination of African education by colonialist white people who are hostile to our interests.

Brown vs. the Board of Education was based on the colonialist assumption that African children are incapable of learning in classrooms where there are no white children. To bolster this position, pushed by the liberal African petty bourgeoisie, sociological studies were made which revealed the self-hatred of African children in segregated school situations.

However, Brown vs. the Board of Education ignored the reality that the opinions that African people have of ourselves under colonial domination are due to our powerlessness to define ourselves for ourselves. The power to define Africans is in the hands of white power. The way out of this situation has never been deeper submission to colonial control, but the struggle for power. We must state that Brown vs. the Board of Education is based on the very same racist assumptions it was allegedly designed to counter, and that the real way forward is through the assumption of control over black educa-

tion by the black community itself.

The NPDUM must initiate a democratic counteroffensive against the U.S. counterinsurgency. We must file international and U.S.-based suits against the U.S., charging it with violation of the U.N. Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide. Within this context we must also raise up the death penalty and the theft of African children from their harried and impoverished mothers by U.S. colonialist social service agencies.

We must also attack the death penalty as an issue onto itself, both in the courtroom and on the streets exposing it for the genocidal terroristic legal lynching that it really is. Associated with this is the habitual offenders laws which exist in increasing numbers of states within the U.S. They are clearly another way to terrorize our community into submission through laws which are even contrary to the U.S. constitution, which, for example, prohibits multiple trials for the same offense.

The question of reparations to African people for the value of our stolen labor and talents and the host of crimes committed against our people by the U.S. colonialist government and North American people in general, must be the foundation of our demand for economic democracy.

We will not attempt to put forth a laundry list of demands and campaigns that NPDUM must take on. They will reveal themselves to us in life. However, we must build an organization which will also attack the neo-colonial component of the U.S. counterinsurgency. And since the electoral process is the primary method for implementing neo-colonialism within the U.S., our movement must deny the African petty bourgeoisie the free hand to utilize it with impunity to carry out a ruling class or corrupt self-serving petty bourgeois agenda. In order to do this we must fight them on the arena of the electoral process by running our own candidates and where appropriate, by registering our movement as a mass party.

However, two things must be kept in mind. Number one, we are not talking about symbolic campaigns. We are talking about campaigns to win elections and/or to affect policies governments are capable of implementing. Number two, we are talking about winning campaigns on principle, on the basis of the principles and constitution of NPDUM, on the basis of actually massifying our demands for self-determination among the people.

This means that we must learn certain skills necessary for struggle in this arena, skills that most people in most mass movements may not have, but many of which the Uhuru Movement has acquired over the years although not in sufficient enough quantity nor quality. Serious,

principled struggle in this arena — in defense of the national democratic rights of our people and as part of the process to expose the U.S. counterinsurgency leading to the abrogation of many of those democratic rights, will shatter the democratic facade of the colonialist white ruling class State.

One task the National People's Democratic Uhuru Movement must take on in order to struggle most effectively is the task of organizing a legal defense capacity, both for our movement and for the general defense of the national democratic rights of our people. This is an important task that cannot be overstated. Historically, petty bourgeois liberals, often those who called themselves "progressives" or "communists" have contributed to the inability of anti-colonialists like ourselves to wage effective struggle for democracy by denying us access to lawyers who would defend our members and our causes in the colonialist courts. In fact, this has contributed to many organizations being driven underground before exhausting the democratic space for struggle.

The inability to utilize the democratic space has prevented many people who might otherwise join or support our democratic struggle for self-determination from doing so, for fear of imprisonment and other forms of state attack. The successful effort by the NPDUM to organize a body of democratic lawyers under the leadership of our movement will open up the movement to thousands of Africans and others who recognize our need for access to the judicial process as a part of our struggle.

Comrades, the historic significance of our presence here today should not be sullied by the fact that some, perhaps even within our movement will disagree with the founding of this U.S.-wide NPDUM. Perhaps some will disagree precisely because the NPDUM will function and exist under the leadership of our Party.

This should not disturb us who are here today. Comrades, Sisters and Brothers, there are millions of African people within this North American hell who are looking for leadership out of this permanent state of wretchedness our enemies have apparently affixed to our destiny. These are the Africans: locked in the housing projects which daily look more like prisons; pursued through the desolate trash-littered streets of the African colony by homelessness, death, and special police thugs; humiliated by welfare and welfare agents who act like parole officers; and generally afflicted with all the symptoms of modern slavery. These are the Africans, millions and millions of them, who have awaited this convention and who now await our return to our communities where we will join them and take up the struggle to complete the Black Revolution of the Sixties.

All Power to the People!